

race "without any great social coherence." This description admittedly tallies with the characteristics of the Tanganyika Dorobo of to-day, but the latter are, even now, violently opposed to fusion with the surrounding Bantu. This may be a characteristic acquired from the Masai, but it does not argue descent from the more accessible and less exclusive *Okiek*.¹ 101
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The name "Dorobo" would seem to have displeased more than one writer on these subjects. As Sir Claude Hollis says, the name has probably nothing to do with the Masai word *dorop*, short.² At any rate, I have been unable to discover any grounds for the belief that it has. The Masai, when asked, will always say that the Dorobo are so called on account of the resemblance their habits bear to those of the tsetse fly.³ "The Dorobo," say the Masai, "live in the bush and used to prey on cattle in the old days. The tsetse fly lives in the bush and is one of the greatest enemies cattle have. In many places, Dorobo and tsetse fly are the principal inhabitants of a bush area. What other reason, then, is there for so calling the Dorobo?" While I do not assert that there is no other reason for the name, I think it will be agreed that we are not in possession of sufficient data to justify our writing it down as absurd. The derivation of the name "Dorobo" here given is at least as reasonable as that of the word "Swahili" cited in the last sentence of Bishop Steere's preface to the first edition of his *Swahili Handbook*. [36] •

Once it has been definitely established that Masailand was inhabited by more than one clan or tribe of Dorobo, an effort was made to obtain the names by which these clans or tribes were known. The Masai were singularly unhelpful in this regard, and I ceased to question them when I realised that their ignorance was as great as my own. The Dorobo themselves were willing to answer all questions (when encouraged and at a loss for a reply, they proved to be most powerful romancers), but were little better informed than the Masai. After many weary months of suggestion and counter-suggestion, involving the accumulation of a mass of extremely inaccurate information, it appeared that there were grounds for assuming the existence 101
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¹ Hobley, p. 135.² Hollis: *The Masai; their Language and Folklore*.³ Masai: *En-dorobōni*; pl. 'N-dorobo; the tsetse fly.

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136Keremait (N. *poiet*).—Bush-buck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).Irukutet (N. *irukutet*).—Reed-buck.

Kenyelet (N.).—Oribi.

Kipsomeret (N.).—Water-buck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Monkeys.

Sairet (N. *lowiityat*).—Colobus (*Colobus guereza*).Tisiet (N.).—(*Cercopithecus alligularis*).Chereret (N.).—(*Cercopithecus griseo-viridis*).Konokhot (N. *moest*).—Baboon.

Other Game.

Torset (N.).—Wild pig (*Phacochorus aethiopicus*).

Tumda (N.).—Giant pig.

Melito (N.).—Leopard.

Sombit (N. *agetundo*).—Lion.

Soiet (N.).—Buffalo.

Peliot (N.).—Elephant.

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Of other kinds of food, they eat bananas (*eduwiet* (N.)), fruit (e.g. berries, such as those of the momonyat (N.) plant, *Rubus rigidus*), nettles (*siet* (N.)), *Gnaphalium condensans*), and other wild products.

They make honey-barrels (*pasowet*, pl. *pasenit*; N. *moietet*) (Text-fig. 24), in which the bees swarm. The barrels are made either of rough slats of the *tendetet* (N. *tendetet*) tree, or of wide strips of thick bark. The ends of the barrels are made of circular blocks of wood, which keep the slats in place, the slats being bound outside with tree-rope. A hole large enough to admit the hand is left in the middle of the barrel and stuffed with a bunch of leaves. The barrel is placed on forked branches, the hole being in the under side. If the tree is a tall one, a pole is bound to it with tree-rope, by which the owner climbs to the barrel.

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To take honey, the Dorobo first makes fire in a loose ball of *sasyat* (fire); he puts this under his garment, and taking some leaves of the *kipsapuet* (N.) tree¹ in which to wrap the honey, climbs up to the barrel. The *sasyat* is blown till it makes a good smoke, and the bunch of leaves having been removed from the barrel, the smoking *sasyat* is held to the hole in the barrel. Having waited a little, the Dorobo inserts his hand and removes the honey-comb (*kipsiririyet*) from the barrel, which he wraps in the *kipsapuet* leaves. Closing the hole, he descends, not worrying about any bee-stings he may receive.

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In times of plenty, food is eaten in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. If there is no food, the people go hungry and wait till some is produced. The women

¹ *Tilia* sp.

The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary, or ⁵⁹² domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, ⁵⁹⁴ and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. ²⁶² This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a ⁽²²⁴⁾ relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of traditional importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-harvest.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: cereals and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

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Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelope, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelope they eat the following:

- Ngwawye**, the common duiker (*Truphaphus Gervaisi*).
Kipakant, the blue duiker (*C. aquivittatus*).
Mwadi, the red duiker (*C. igne-aurum*).
Kwemali, the bushbuck (*Truphaphus scriptus*).
Ivukant, the reedbuck (*Corvinae arundinacea*).
Kwepit, the oribi (*Ourebia constanti*).
Kipamant, the waterbuck (*Capra ellipsogymna*).

Of monkeys they eat:

- Saint*, the colobus (*Colobus gervaisi*).
Tiwi, Nyke's monkey (*Conopithecus olivaceus*).
Canot, grey monkey (*C. griseo-velatus*).
Kamant, the baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*).

And of other animals they eat:

- Tuani*, the wild pig or wart-hog (*Phacochoerus anthracinus*).
Tuani, the giant pig (*Hylochoerus Meisneri*).
Makila, the leopard.
Nwaki, the lion.
Saint, the buffalo.
Pakila, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephants in the Dorobo country to-day, nor ⁽²³⁴⁾ have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

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[262] eastern part of the area and towards Lindani. Mushrooms and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; insects live on the edge, and bees are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not as plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-bushes. This constitutes a special department of Durabo life, and will be described in §2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

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Fruit of the *alotik*, which are something like white cornucopia, dried in the sun and eaten raw.

Fruit of the plant *mumuyat*, *rubus rigidus*.

Fruit of the *lowiyat*, *simonis americana*.

Fruit of the *awerit*, *Musa esculenta*, the wild banana.

Leaves of the *alot*, *gardenia complanata*, etc.

Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimat* or 'porridge'.

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Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana is very over the 'thick' it is called by the Nandi, and is eaten whole with the stems and chopped; it is very hard. Tobacco is brought from the Nandi.

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Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Durabo made a substitute from the leaves of the *apungat* bush (*acacia senegalensis*), or of the *awerit* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ash collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and stirred, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Nandi *Kisumu* used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little *alotik* beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Durabo method of making *ap-ahitak* or *kimat* is, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *alotik* tree (*alotik* seed-pods or the *awerit* seed), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled off quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make a ferment. A Durabo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kisumu milk *alotik* and of honey;
They are taken the seed-pods, they are boiled on the fire that they may be soft.
Kisumu then of *alotik* taken or water for
they are washed in the water that they may be hot the things which are they of
apungat Kisumu of *apungat* Kisumu and
they become soft. They are put in the sun that they may dry. They are put into the
oil *alotik* part of *alotik* which *alotik*
where there is the honey only, that it may become better, then is put the water.

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captured, and communicated as guide to the party, and was ordered to show them the place where they could obtain water for their cattle. The people who came from the north were the members of the Bura, Gikonyaki, Laitai, and Dorocho Mand.

Mr. Kelle speaks thus of the Bura, Gikonyaki, Laitai, and Dorocho Mand.

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Some generations later an invasion took place from the north. A people came from a district called Bura, in the direction of Spanish country; these people were like the Mand and were called the Bura, the son of Bura. They fought with the Mand from the north and conquered them. Bura was a clever leader, however, and he collected his forces and defeated them with his own people into the Mand nation. Before that time the Bura had occupied the whole of the Mand-Laitai plains but they were driven north by the great chief Bura, or his son Bura. If this is true it might account for the number of cattle raids from which we are to hear of the Mand nation; these were certainly not made by the Mand, but probably by a people who followed Bura.

The Kikuyu nation was then occupied by that tribe, but was one of the great trading people of the Dorocho, and remained away from the north, wild pig, &c. In those days it is said the tribe of Laitai for example the present lands of north present by the Mand. The Kikuyu people migrated to from the southeast and gradually moved, following the river as they passed north-west; one of the Kikuyu then, the Bura, came from the north as Kikuyu in fact, their name is probably a corruption of Kikuyu. They are skilled at iron-making and other crafts, and are said to have been Mand slaves in their time.

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On the Bura, or Gikonyaki plains, between Mand Dorocho and Kikuyu, there are remains of a great wall in the form of numerous ridges across fields, similar to dunes. The Gikonyaki people who formerly inhabited the plains declare that they are the site of a great wall built by the people who were called Kikuyu, and the tribe Bura; the people of the wall, and the people who inhabited the plains before the Gikonyaki was a long time ago, and the people who were called Kikuyu and Bura of the Mand. They were a powerful tribe who had numerous lands of cattle with exceedingly long herds. They had the most cattle than any other tribe. They were, however, taken up by the Bura, Laitai, and Laitai Mand, the tribe of the Mand who moved from the north. According to Kikuyu tradition they were on the other side of the wall, for when a child was born they had a hole in the wall; the wall built for the tribe, and they moved the hole with a wooden peg. When, however, they moved to the north they took out the peg. The hole of the wall was pointed by these people was a hole of the tribe who was in the north. In this way, the tradition of the wall and long herds made possible proof to an African of a great tribe from the north which made an important experiment of migration southwards. But Kikuyu might not be so in correspondence with the tribe Bura of the Mand. Some other the tradition of this tribe by the Mand the wall was made of mud by the tribe.

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The Kikuyu also have a certain tradition about a clever man of Gikonyaki called Bura, who inhabited this country in old times; they are said to have changed his name to Bura.

They also tell that they found from their tradition, long before Bura came, that the tribe of the north, the tribe of the north (called Bura) moved to the north. Tradition says of the tribe who moved to the north as a people, from the north, they found to be the tribe.

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and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

- 1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
- 1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
- 1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
- 1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
- 2 basketsful of seed for one basket.¹

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the ~~exchange gives the Dorobo a goat~~, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fat duck for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Misiy acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Olleso; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, ~~unusually~~, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, ~~most~~, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds² were

¹A honey-bag is about 12 in. deep, and 8 in. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (sharpet) is about 8 in. deep and 4 1/2 in. wide at the top. [415]

²Presently, the word *bag* (*Phacochorus aethiopicus*); and *gourd*, the gourd bag or bush-pig (*Phacochorus aethiopicus*) [196] ●

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a 224
 limited extent, by individuals, as well as several
 species of monkey.¹ There seems to have been
 no very strict close season, as pig were occasional-
 ly hunted in the wet weather, though not often,
 since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet.
 There are now no lion or elephant, but they are [136]
 said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoi-
 met ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. [193]
 Leopards are still common, and are still shot if [231]
 one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs;
 they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire,
 which is not bought, but searched for or stolen
 from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap
 Megati which caught a leopard during one of my
 visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no
 longer exist in the western end of the forest where
 the Kapchependi live, but they occur near
 Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men.
 If, say, eight went out, half would go along one
 bank of a stream, and half along the other bank,
 so that one or other party would be sure to get
 something. They met after the kill and cooked [264]
 the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The
 rest was divided among the hunters and taken
 home for their families, the unsuccessful members
 of the hunt receiving a share from those who made
 the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his
 own (elementary) family, but also his father,
 mother, and wife's father with meat, and the
 distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter: Meat to

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the 423
 government) an hereditary right over a piece of [648]
 forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee- [428]
 keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who
 wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so,
 for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone [682]

¹ *Babot*, *Colobus gossesi*;

Chlorocebus, *Caraculphacrus gossesi-viridis*;

Ptilinopus, *Sylva* monkey or *Caraculphacrus affinis*; [136]

Macaca, the baboon, *Papio cynocephalus*.

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Asa

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- 231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a *Melipona* species (subspecies *Trigona*) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

- 222 known as el mafn. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

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[462] In the camp one sees the men wither squatting about dully or busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making of a bow (Fig. 83) (from the ol borogoi tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

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[237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

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[412] The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirizē, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feathering -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron perc-nopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

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[439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

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[285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

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[191] The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

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[533] With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. ⁴²³ [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. ²²⁴ [685] [626]

Monkeys and buck¹ are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.²

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans. ¹⁷⁸ [224] [241] [233] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group ²⁴¹ [462] [857] [439] ²⁴¹ ⁴²³ [351]

¹ The buck killed are:

Kipsheet, blue duiker (*cephalophus aequatorialis*). [136]

Mindet, red duiker (*c. igna-issaci*.)

Keremait, bush buck (*tragelaphus scriptus*.)

Irukutet, reed-buck

Koyelet, oribi

Kipsomeret, water-buck (*capra ellipsiprymnus*).

² I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

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278 When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned
415 with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The
252 arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

[411] The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El
224 dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only
[634] the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a
[631] number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence
following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild
animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after
the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely
/248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed
his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same
spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance
with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany
a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular
knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game
expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter
amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances
• [136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals,
especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs
always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the
younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older
ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires
incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home. The ol
doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong
odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent.
He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of
the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to
the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out
clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe.
The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature
of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at
20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverance, and
dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can